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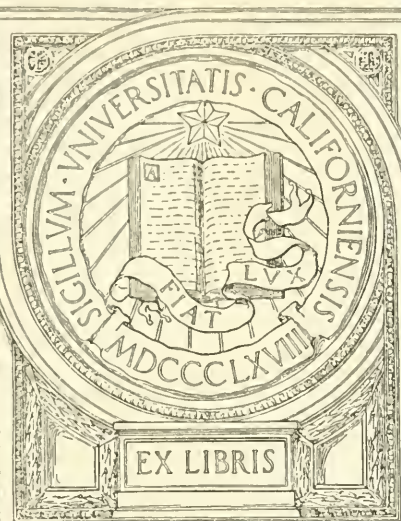


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An Open Letter To Hon. Wilbur F.
Sanders From Thomas H. Carter

By
Thomas H. Carter

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
AT LOS ANGELES



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ROBERT ERNEST COWAN

AN OPEN LETTER

TO

HON. WILBUR F. SANDERS

FROM

THOMAS H. CARTER.

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA
AND ANGELES LIBRARY

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AN OPEN LETTER
TO
HON. WILBUR F. SANDERS
FROM
THOMAS H. CARTER.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *December 18, 1900.*

Hon. W. F. SANDERS,
Helena, Montana.

SIR :

While deploring your want of veracity, I am glad your suffering vanity and consuming malignity finally drove you into the open, through your interview in the *Helena Herald* of the 12th instant. It is well known that your hand has been against every man to whom the people have given any prominence in Montana from the day you landed in the Territory. Always, when denied position at the front, you have devoted your energies to breeding strife and spreading scandal. Your cruel disposition to assassinate private character has always been cheerfully indulged in creating and giving wings to evil report concerning the victims of your envy and malice. I do not recall a man of prominence connected with our history who has in any way crossed your path upon whom your slanderous tongue has not hurled the vicious burdens of your sinister mind. General Meagher, Governor Potts, Chief Justice Wade, A. C. Botkin, Martin Maginnis, Governor Toole and a host of others, living and dead, each in turn excited your animosity, just in

proportion to the measure of public confidence and respect accorded them. As it has been my good fortune to be honored by the Republican party of our State and of the Nation to an unusual degree, so to an unusual degree have I become the object of your bitter animosity. For twelve years your mind has been devoted to the invention of every evil report you could spread with any sort of plausibility. Before the people of Montana I was successful; you were not. That was enough. My destruction at once became your cherished thought. Heretofore you have played the contemptible rôle of a private scandal-monger. Now, during my absence from the State attending to public business, you make an open assault, for the obvious purpose of influencing the action of the Republican members of the legislature and the action of the President in regard to party matters in Montana.

Your alliance with the *Helena Herald* befits you. That paper was purchased under false pretenses and was run in the interest of William A. Clark during the last campaign, and is now engaged in an effort to prevent any party organization in the approaching legislature, to the end that opposition to Mr. Clark may be diminished. Your hypocritical phrases cannot conceal the fact that you are helping to procure that result. If yourself and the *Herald* can divide the Republicans, of course Mr. Clark will be the gainer. With this outcome as the inevitable consequence of any success your venture may reach, your diatribe starts out with the statement that the Republican party is "shipwrecked, scattered, and peeled." That your premises are false can be readily demonstrated by the simple mathematics of the situation. In 1896, the vote of Montana for President McKinley was only 10,490, whereas in 1900 he received 25,373, an increase of 14,883 votes. In 1896 we only succeeded in electing seven members of the legislature,

whereas at the recent election twenty-seven members of the legislature were elected by substantial pluralities and a number of candidates were defeated by such narrow margins that a change of less than four hundred votes in certain close counties would have given the Republicans control of both branches of the legislature by safe majorities.

In 1896 nearly all our party friends were driven from the county offices, while in 1900 close calculation will, I think, show that the Republicans carried a majority of the county offices. In 1896 Mr. Goddard, our candidate for Congress, was defeated by about 34,000 majority. In 1900 Mr. Murray, the Republican nominee, was only defeated by 6,441 votes. In 1896 our party organization was completely wiped out in many counties, but in 1900 the organization in every county of the State was strong, intelligent and aggressive. The campaign was conducted by the State and county committees with fidelity, vigilance and vigor unprecedented in Montana and never excelled in any State. With one possible exception, Montana showed larger proportionate Republican gains at the last election than any State in the Union.

In the presence of these plain figures and indisputable facts, your allegation that the party is "shipwrecked, scattered and peeled" seems to leave you to plead ignorance or to confess falsehood. Take your choice.

In this connection, let me notice your further statement that "No more shameless campaign was ever conducted by a lot of federal officials than was conducted in Montana in 1899 (1900)." What are the facts? Mr. Webster, the chairman of the State committee, accepted that position at the unanimous request of the committee and immediately resigned the office held by him. Neither Mr. Burlingame, the secretary, nor Mr. Tatem, the treasurer, held any office. Of the twenty-four chairmen of county committees, I only

recall two federal office-holders. Not a federal appointee was placed on the delegation to the national convention. The member of the national committee is not a federal office-holder. Again, slight analysis refutes your assumed premises. Honest, faithful men in and out of office did their level best to secure success by honorable means. Every Republican in the State known to be a public speaker cheerfully responded to the call of the State committee excepting yourself, Mr. Sanders. While the *Helena Herald*, our oldtime Republican paper, was doing its best, under Clark influence, to insure Democratic victory, you sulked in your tent and treated with contempt the repeated requests of the State Committee for your services on the stump. At no time did you suffer the committee to depend upon your help, nor did you omit any opportunity to make mischief and spread dissension in the party ranks. This was overlooked as being in perfect harmony with your whole record in Montana.

Passing from your ill-informed or wilfully false vapors about the condition of the party and the conduct of the campaign, permit me to take up your malicious allegations of a personal nature. You say that my election to the Senate in 1895 was secured by illegal means, and that I was not the free choice of the people of Montana for the high office I hold. As you were one of my competitors in the Senatorial contest at that time, it must at once appear strange that by silence you should have connived at alleged crime for all these years. I was not sworn in as a Senator until December, 1895, and you therefore had ample time and God knows was not wanting in disposition to present to the Senate any fact or circumstance within your knowledge touching my right to be sworn in as a Senator of the United States.

In the light of your tardy charge, may I not ask why, in

writing me under date of February 18, 1897, more than two years after my election to the Senate, suggesting the need of some one to lead the party through the strife and contention in prospect in the State, you said: "As there was never more need of some one in that field than now, I cannot bear to see it vacated, and you seem to be about the only one competent to take that part"?

A brief review of events preceding and surrounding the senatorial election of 1895 will suffice to account for your silence, and the bare suggestion of your sinister motive will show why you publish an utterly false and infamous charge at this time. To begin with, Mr. Sanders, the people of Montana, who know you best, have embraced every opportunity given them to express the conviction that you are incapable of fidelity to any principle or to any cause. You were a standing candidate for Congress in territorial days, and you were always overwhelmingly defeated. You cannot find salve for wounded vanity by saying you always led a forlorn hope. The Republicans would not unite in your support. They knew you. For about twenty years to my knowledge you have been seeking a reputation for personal honesty and civic virtue by using the same high-sounding phrases employed in your interview, as pretended reflections of the high political and moral ideals you would have people believe found sympathy in your intellectual life. Your character and conduct unfortunately contradict your professions in such a flagrant manner that your egotism alone spares you the humiliation of perceiving how ridiculous you appear as the self-appointed author of moral precepts. Your former clients in the East and your fellow-citizens in Montana have full knowledge of the article known as "Sanders." The Republicans of the State know your party record too well. In 1895 they had not forgotten that in 1872 you sought through the Radersburg

conference to secure the Democratic nomination on the Greeley ticket. This transaction may be more readily recalled in connection with your statement to a prominent Democrat now residing in the State, to whom you said: "The imagination cannot conceive nor can language depict Grant's unfitness for the Presidential office." It was known that failing to get the Democratic nomination, you gave indifferent support to the Republican nominee. It was known that in 1882 your client, the Northern Pacific Railroad, was opposed to the election of our candidate for Congress and yet you solicited and obtained the chairmanship of the Republican committee and in the middle of the campaign abandoned the post, left the Territory and did not return until after the election. In 1884 the Republican candidate came within a few votes of being elected. The Territory was evidently Republican. Then in 1886 you pushed yourself to the front. You secured the nomination for Congress after a hard struggle. The party workers did their best to pull you through, but the people would not have it so. You were defeated by about four thousand votes. That was I believe the most overwhelming defeat the party had suffered up to that time. In 1888 I reluctantly accepted the party nomination for Congress and was elected by a majority of over five thousand votes. Again in 1889 I was unanimously nominated by the first State convention and was elected by a handsome majority. You were a candidate for the Senate and that fact so far affected the voters that our candidates for the legislature fared poorly. A contest in Silver Bow County led to a divided legislature and you finally reached the Senate after a contest before that body. If you ever suspected that you were the choice of the people, your mind should have been set at rest when in 1892, you being a candidate to succeed yourself in the Senate, the Republican State and National

tickets carried Montana, but the opposition carried the legislature by a decided majority. The Republicans in the legislature threw you overboard and gave the caucus nomination to Hon. Lee Mantle.

With this party record, you approached the campaign of 1894, supposing yourself a favorite. You canvassed the State. I was known to be a candidate for the Senate, but during the whole campaign I devoted myself exclusively to what I conceived to be the duty of preventing the removal of our State capital in the interest of a mining company and to the detriment of the State at large. The Republican legislature which assembled in 1895 was charged with the election of two United States Senators. By a tacit understanding, a resident of the west side was to be selected to fill one of the vacancies and a resident of the east side to fill the other. Hon. Lee Mantle, a resident of the west side, was first nominated by the caucus for the short term, thus leaving the long term selection to some east-side man. You were one of three candidates for the place and you were the weakest of the three from start to finish. On the other hand I took the lead in the caucus, and maintained that position until finally elected. When I became the caucus nominee every Republican in the legislature supported me loyally. You will remember that excepting yourself and a few others, the citizens of Helena were almost a unit in favor of my election. The Democratic paper rejoiced in my victory, and the *Helena Herald*, then a Republican paper, supported me. Every Republican daily paper in the State was with me, and with few exceptions, the weekly papers stood by me. Governor Rickards, his private secretary, Mr. Keith, John S. M. Neill, the present proprietor of the *Helena Independent*, Charles K. Cole, the trustee for the mysterious owner of the *Herald*, and others too numerous to mention were on my

side. When you were defeated your unhappy disposition rendered it impossible for you to accept defeat as game men ordinarily do. You whined and complained and violently assailed the character and motives of members of the legislature, who had faithfully supported you until your election was obviously impossible. Your anathemas were most violent when directed toward your own former supporters and staunch friends.

No one would expect you to fully realize that the verdict of 1895 was merely an additional expression of a set purpose on the part of the people of the State to keep your hands off their destiny. You were not content with the verdict; that was to be expected. Largely owing to your loose, incoherent and malicious talk, a grand jury was empaneled shortly after the election to enquire into and full presentment make of any offense against the law in connection with the senatorial election. That grand jury remained in session for weeks and weeks. Every member of the legislature whom your suspicion could suggest was called as a witness. The grand jury was largely composed of people with whom I did not affiliate politically. The county attorney was a Democrat. I do not recall ever having spoken to a member of that jury during the time they were in session and deliberating. However, I was informed afterwards that every street rumor had been chased home, as far as the grand jury could trace it, and each and all the rumors were shown to be without foundation. It does seem to me that this searching investigation, conducted largely by political opponents, would silence even your tongue; but the tongue of malice, like the tail of the snake, will wag until sundown. You knew that grand jury was in session, Mr. Sanders, and knowing that fact, if you were actuated by the high motives and possessed of the knowledge you claim to have, why did you not go

before the properly constituted authority then organized for the purpose of investigating and disclose what you knew? You cannot plead in extenuation of your failure any warmth of feeling for me ; nor can you assert that I importuned you to desist. Having had an opportunity to place the facts you allege to be in your possession before the grand jury, having had an opportunity to place them before the Senate of the United States, and with these opportunities at your disposal, being actuated by a personal malice that you cannot and could not conceal, I insist now that having stood mute for the period of six years, you stand convicted by your own silence and course of conduct with a wilful neglect of duty or with wilful indulgence in vile, cowardly and unseemly slander. No honorable, manly man would elect to occupy the equivocal position in which you voluntarily place yourself.

You say that money was contributed to aid in my election by a few gentlemen you name. As to all excepting owners of the Yellowstone Park Transportation Co., I pronounce your statements absolutely false. Not one farthing was contributed to my knowledge by any of the persons you name. As the Yellowstone Park Transportation Co. was composed of numerous persons, I am not prepared to make the same statement, as nearly every one was willing to assist in sharing any legitimate expense incident to the campaign in my behalf, but I do say that nothing was contributed by any member of that company or by the company itself to my knowledge. No expenditure was made by or for me except for necessary and perfectly legal and legitimate incidental expenses. You further say that an item of \$10,000 was contributed by some person or combination. That statement is simply false. You evidently have in mind the silly campaign lie about \$13,000 in 13 checks, said to have been signed by me with only a portion of my

name, and given by me to members of the legislature and payment thereon stopped after my election. It never seemed to me that any person in the State of Montana or elsewhere was sufficiently devoid of ordinary perception not to discern the utter absurdity of that charge. The authority for it could not be traced, but it undoubtedly emanated from some point not far distant from the brain which conceived the string of trifling falsehoods which constitute the basis of your interview. It seems like a reflection on the intelligence of the average citizen of the State to do what I now propose to do, once for all, denounce that charge as an absolute unqualified lie. Any man on reflection for one moment will perceive that it is false. With the vindictive partisan opposition which I have encountered of late years, does any one suppose that if any man had ever seen a check of that kind, the fact would not have been demonstrated beyond any question? Does any one suppose that the grand jury which investigated this whole matter when the charges were first presented would not in some way have located one of the checks or the name of some one to whom such check had been made? No, Mr. Sanders, you cannot work up these charges so as to account for your defeat. The people of Montana never wanted you to hold any office either of profit or trust in the State. They said so repeatedly in the most pronounced manner. In 1895 they were enlightened by a trial of your abilities. As a Senator from the State of Montana it was I think generally conceded that you had proven a failure. You had no right to expect a reelection upon any theory whatever and nothing but your egotism would warrant you in becoming a candidate.

Now you have a series of objections to offer to my conduct since my election to the Senate. The first of these

will be found in your assertion that I made a speech in the Senate in February, 1896, in which I commented upon the conduct of the Republican party in reference to the silver question. That speech has been widely circulated. It was printed and reprinted until over 300,000 copies were called for from different sections of the country. It speaks for itself. The speech was addressed to the temporary measure presented by the Ways and Means Committee of the House to revise the tariff so as to provide more revenue for the Government at the time. I objected to that measure because it assumed to deal with the wool industry of our State in a tentative and unsatisfactory manner. I think the course of events has justified my opposition to that bill. If it had been passed, the wool schedules of the Dingley bill as now on the statute-books would never have been acceded to. I then called upon the Republican party to be honest on the money question. I did not in that speech advocate the free and unlimited coinage of silver, but I did insist that at its approaching convention the Republican party should cease to equivocate upon that question of vital interest to the country and to our section particularly. As you will recall, the party platform had been interpreted in one sense in the West and in another sense in the East. For many years the party had equivocated, and, as I believed, dealt doubly with the people on that question. In the course of the speech to which you object, I insisted that common honesty should control the party expression in the future on this important issue. That was the sum and substance of the speech. Gentlemen whose good opinion I covet, and among them many of those whom you have taken the liberty to name, have been considerate enough to say that my speech, made in February, 1896, resulted in bringing the Republican party squarely up to the issue on the money question, without equivocation or evasion, at the Convention in St. Louis.

You next take exception to my course of conduct in reference to the campaign of 1896. For a series of years, our party, relying upon its own interpretation of the national platform, had advocated the restoration of silver. You pretended to be a strong free-silver man yourself. When the national convention announced its opposition to this policy, our party lost large numbers of its followers in the State. Men left us more in sorrow than in anger. Thousands of honorable, honest, upright Republicans felt in duty bound to vote for the candidate who represented the free coinage of silver. Your theory if carried out would have compelled those who remained in the party to forever extirpate those who left us in the stormy excitement of the hour. To me it seemed that the division would only be temporary and in this view I urged charity, liberality and considerate treatment of those who had left us as I believed only for the time being. Your policy then as it has always been was one of division and destruction. My policy favored unity and growth. My policy, happily I think, prevailed and no better evidence of its wisdom can be furnished than is to be found in the completely reunited party at the polls in 1900.

You furnish a fair measure whereby to gauge your conceptions of the truth when you aver that I bolted the St. Louis convention in 1896. As every one knows, I called that convention to order and stood by the convention and the ticket there nominated without variation or sign of change.

You allege that in the campaign of 1896 I did not zealously advocate the party cause. You say that I spent eighty days in the Yellowstone National Park. That statement is more truthful than most of the statements you have made. I spent about eleven days in the National Park in 1896, and the campaign in the State was commenced as promptly as anywhere else and prosecuted with

all the vigor that our depleted party could muster. Where you made one speech in 1896 in favor of the election of McKinley, it is safe to say that I made half a dozen.

You next allege that my appointments were not to your liking. You seem to take issue with my action in recommending persons for office who have been friendly to me in the State. To this I must in part plead guilty. It has never been my disposition, custom or purpose to knife my friends. Unhappily, Colonel, those who have dealt with you cannot truthfully say as much. As to the fitness of the men recommended and appointed, it is sufficient to say that the federal officers appointed by President McKinley in Montana have discharged their official duties with fidelity, intelligence and devotion to the public service which will compare most favorably with any of their predecessors and with occupants of like offices in any part of the country.

In furtherance of your policy of permanent party division you came to Washington after the inauguration of President McKinley and insisted that the federal offices in the State should be filled by some of your relatives and a little coterie who believed with you that the plan to exclude everybody from the Republican party who did not agree with you was the proper one for Montana. You complain that Mr. Goddard was not appointed United States Attorney, apparently forgetting that Mr. Rodgers was recommended for that place by nearly every lawyer in the State, and by almost every member of the legislature. His fitness for the position no one will or can question. I offered to secure for Mr. Goddard another appointment of importance in the public service which he declined to consider, and there the matter ended.

Your next complaint relates to the senatorial election of 1899 and in this you make the false and absolutely un-

founded statement that I was cognizant of or connived at the Republican support given to Mr. Clark. Your capacity in the invention of falsehood is truly remarkable. Now the facts are, Mr. Sanders, that before leaving Montana, in the fall of 1898, I went to Missoula and there arranged with Hon. Tyler Worden, a state senator, to address letters to every Republican elected to the legislature urging them to go into caucus and to support Hon. Thomas C. Marshall for the senate as the caucus nominee. In pursuance of this arrangement, Mr. Worden wrote to all the members and senators elected and about the last of December, being especially anxious that the integrity of the party should be maintained and that no mistakes should be made in preserving the uniform custom of caucus action, I arose from a bed of sickness in the city of Washington and went out to Helena. I first lodged at the Helena Hotel, but having indiscreetly moved about too much on the first day after my arrival, I was taken ill again, and on the advice of my physician went to a private house. There I remained, interviewing members of the legislature, as my strength would allow, until an agreement was finally and fully reached by all Republicans to enter into and abide by a caucus of all the Republican members in the legislature. It was clearly and distinctly understood that the caucus was to nominate a Republican and to stand by a Republican from the beginning to the end. I did not call you into conference at that time because in the first place I had no confidence in you politically, and in the next place, it was currently understood that you were in the employ of Mr. Marcus Daly, who was at the time attempting to control the Republicans of the State, as well as a portion of the Democrats. Worden, Lindsay, McKay and other members of the legislature can bear testimony to what was said and done at the conferences referred to. No

Republican ever voted for Mr. Clark with my approval or advice, and your statement that any member so avowed I believe to be false.

After the caucus acted, I left Helena and came to Washington, feeling confident that no Republican would consent to any disturbance of the action of the caucus. This conviction on my part was well sustained, until a movement was made by your associates, if not yourself, to induce the Republicans in that legislative assembly to abandon their caucus nominee and vote for W. G. Conrad, who was the favorite of your alleged employer, Mr. Daly. When Republicans of prominence called upon friends in the legislature and insisted that it would be proper and right to vote for Mr. Conrad, they unquestionably gave their assent to the exercise of free judgment by the members of the legislature as to a like course of action with reference to any other Democrat. To all this I was unalterably opposed. Here again, your own self-seeking began to assert itself. You reached out for a complimentary vote. You contributed your share to disturb the party equilibrium, to get the members of the legislature confused. Votes were scattered about the field day in and day out. The original caucus agreement was broken up with your connivance and finally an unfortunate departure was made which terminated in the election of Mr. Clark. Do you hold yourself guiltless? Do you feel that you can exonerate yourself before the people of the State by casting anathemas at the men whom you advised to go wrong in the beginning to the end that your own weak and trifling vanity might be fed? The conduct of gentlemen who voted for a Democrat while subject to question is certainly not open to censure at the hands of an individual who counselled, aided and abetted in breaking up the unity of the party in the middle of a fight. You have

attempted to obscure the public vision on this subject by dealing in adjectives and opprobrious terms in speaking of the men whom you aided in deceiving. You were one of the seducers and it ill becomes you, sir, to condemn the men whose fall you prepared. You not only censure the men whom you aided in leading astray, but you have the supreme impertinence to call to account the man who initiated the movement for a caucus and remained in counsel with our members of the legislature until the caucus action was finally consummated by the nomination of Marshall. As long as Marshall remained the candidate, the party lines were maintained; the moment your counsel in favor of complimentary votes and the counsel of your friends in favor of Conrad were injected, the way of error was opened wide.

You allege that Marshal Woolman would not co-operate with you during the Clark Senatorial fight. You say you implored him to help you. If you implored him to assist you in disturbing the action of the Republican caucus and to secure your own nomination, he was clearly justified in treating you with the indifference you deserved. You impugn Mr. Woolman's motive in calling for three cheers for the four Republicans who stood by the party in the legislature. This is only a suspicion, and it is sufficient to say that suspicions are the natural products of petty, jealous, vicious minds. I am not Mr. Woolman's guardian, but in my humble opinion his party record in the State of Montana will stand in an enviable position in comparison with your own.

You mention the searching investigation at Washington into Mr. Clark's doings in Montana, with a view no doubt to creating the inference that in some vague and indefinite way, I ought to be censured in that behalf. You busied yourself to the full extent of all your capacity in an effort

to get some evidence, howsoever little, of connivance on my part at the course taken by Republicans in voting for Clark. You spared no pains in trying to get something on this subject. Your endeavors were stimulated by vindictiveness. You were sleepless and vigilant; you came to Washington and haunted the corridors, endeavoring to pick up some word or phrase that might give you something to start on. The gentlemen who were engaged in prosecuting the case against Mr. Clark would have accepted most graciously any suggestion which might have led to any fact connecting me with the transfer of Republican votes to Mr. Clark. Notwithstanding your vigilance, utter failure marked the effort. You could not have procured any such evidence save by perjury. My skirts were clear. And yet in the face of this demonstration of fact, after the most searching enquiry, you soberly give utterance to the lie, not directly but by inference, that there might have been something in the report that I facilitated or aided in the election of Mr. Clark.

You again start off on the false hypothesis that I caused a stalwart editor to be discharged from a Republican paper, so that a federal office-holder, to wit, Mr. Botkin, might direct its policy. You no doubt have reference to Mr. Wiley, who had been an editorial writer on the *Helena Herald*, for quite a while. The *Helena Herald* changed ownership on the first of July. The Fisk Bros. relinquished the control on that day. Dr. Chas. K. Cole, became the guiding spirit of the paper under the new management. Pursuant to an agreement undoubtedly reached some time before, Mr. Cole secured the services of Mr. A. B. Keith to edit the *Herald*, thus letting Mr. Wiley out of employment. Those who read the columns of the *Herald* can readily perceive that my influence with that paper is very limited, but I can be held responsible for that with as much logic as for

many of the other things suggested by you. Later, when a Republican paper was established, Mr. Wiley was placed at work upon the editorial columns at my suggestion.

While upon this *Herald* question, I cannot refrain from saying that there is an eminent propriety in the combination of your forces, such as they are, with the combination represented by Dr. Cole in conducting the *Helena Herald*. That paper was purchased with money intended to aid in the election of Mr. Clark to the United States Senate. During the campaign the paper turned upon the Republican party and did most vicious work in its attempt to secure the triumph of Mr. Clark. The *Herald* has not been a Republican paper since last July. It is an organ owned and controlled in the interest of Mr. W. A. Clark. Its every utterance since its publication in July demonstrates the truth of this statement. It is now co-operating with you, Mr. Sanders, to divide the Republican vote in the legislature, soon to assemble. It is in sympathy with contests brought by Mr. Clark against Republicans, duly and regularly elected to the legislature. Its manager, Dr. Cole, is in conference with Mr. Clark for the purpose of carrying into force and effect the same identical scheme that you had in mind when your interview was furnished to the *Herald*. Shortly after July 1st, the *Helena Herald* management demanded of me the sum of \$10,000, to aid that paper through the campaign. When it became clear to me that the paper was controlled by Mr. Clark, and that its effort to secure aid from a Republican source was part of an infamous scheme, I set about to enlist other gentlemen in an endeavor to establish a newspaper at Helena upon which the party could depend. It was very clear that it could not depend upon a paper controlled by Mr. Clark and run in his interest. Since the *Herald* has fully exposed its own perfidy, the federal advertising has been at

my request transferred from that paper to the *Record*, and hence the vindictive spirit displayed by the fellows who were caught in the perpetration of a trick to which no gentleman would knowingly lend himself.

When you speak of the *Helena Record* as my organ, it befits me to speak of the *Helena Herald* as your organ. This brings the issue pretty near home to every Republican.

You wind up your screed by a reference to the alleged Alaskan scandal. The newspaper report on that subject accepted by you with such avidity was evidently inspired by a fugitive from justice. It insinuated that the lamented Senator Davis, Senator Hanna, myself and others were probably interested in an Alaskan mining company, of which I certainly had never heard before a San Francisco newspaper took it up. Senator Hanna informs me he never heard of the company before being named in a newspaper as connected with it. Senator Davis surrendered to the final impulse a few days after the mendacious libel you perpetrated was published, but I venture to say his executor will not find any Alaska holding in his estate reflecting on his personal or official memory. The sensational charges were undoubtedly published to prejudice the President and the courts against judicial officers in Alaska, whose overthrow or removal would subserve certain selfish purposes. Time and patient investigation will of course disclose the truth. You could not wait. Of course you are not in a position to make any charge, nor is it necessary that you should be. Mudslinging comes so natural to your hand that you can pick up a matter like this without any tangible support, regardless of its reflections on the living or the dead.

Your wailing cries over the party action in conventions and elsewhere in relegating you to the rear merit no more

attention than does your envious reference to the fact that the street parades and attendance at meetings addressed by me were unusually large. The unhappy bent of mind which gives you pain in the presence of public approval extended to others is well known. Yes, you have lived in Montana thirty-seven years and in that time not one kindly, generous sentiment has emanated from your malevolent mind in your reference to any man who has taken issue with you on public questions. Intolerance, envy, hatred and slander have so far controlled your life that your sufferings must be painful and continuous. Your repeated and unvarying defeats by the people of Montana instead of enlightening have so embittered you as to make you an object of pity rather than contempt. In the presence of severe provocation, I have heretofore treated you with forbearance, electing to ascribe all the blame to a nature overwhelmed with vanity, self-conceit and malice. As your recent outbreak is but part of a concerted plan in which you are, thoughtlessly, I hope, co-operating with self-abased and mercenary men to divide the Republicans in the legislature in the interest of the election of Mr. Clark, whom you seem to condemn, I have felt constrained to notice your interview. While I have never knowingly injured you and have often aided you, I have been aware for many years of your evil disposition toward me. This I attributed to your envious nature and let it pass at that, rather than to enter into a quarrel with you. My duty to my party does not in this instance permit the oldtime charitable course. My home and my affections have been in and with Montana for well nigh twenty years and in that State I expect to live and die. After the fourth of March, I will be at home in Helena, and will as a citizen of the State do my full duty in laboring for better government and higher

ideals in and through the agency of the Republican party, always realizing that the plain speech I here indulge will in no sense have accentuated the quality of your personal malice.

Yours truly,

J. H. Carter



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